1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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Large and expensive tools and work animals are also found in relatively small numbers. The oxcart, water buffalo, threshing machine, water wheel, and winnower are quite important to the farmer, but he rarely owns them. A villager may either rent a threshing machine from another villager or borrow it from a good friend or kinsman. However, a water buffalo for plowing or a buffalo and cart are more likely to be hired on a daily basis, its owner being hired to work the animal.

The villager who does not own a water buffalo or a threshing machine must adjust his own schedule in advance of the plowing or harvesting in order that it will not conflict with the schedules of people from whom he might borrow or rent the item. This can be troublesome if threat of a typhoon makes it imperative that he, like everyone else, harvest the rice crop immediately. Such an individual must take his chances and wait for the first available thresher. Luckily, such emergencies do not occur often. Even within the same village, farmers usually have slightly varied plowing or harvesting schedules.

TABLE 11

SURVEY OF TOOLS AND IMPLEMENTS OWNED BY 87 HSIN HSING VILLAGE FARM FAMILIES, AUGUST, 1958

Tools and implements	Good condition	Poor condition	Unusable
Water buffalo	17		
Oxcart	12		1
Foot thresher	10		
Hand thresher	2		1
Water wheel	10	4	4
Plow	28	2	5
Hand harrow	27		1
Foot harrow	10	1	
Hoe	87	1	
Sickle	156		1
Bamboo basket	144		2
Outside granary	15	4	2
Stone rice grinder	6		5
Hatchet	7		2
Leveler	7		
Pitchfork	17		
Insecticide sprayer	4		1
Winnower	8	1	
One-bar bicycle	39	2	2
Two-bar bicycle	22		
Sewing machine	23	1	2

Borrowing of small tools as well as many household items is both common and frequent in the village. When there is need for a tool, people prefer to borrow it from another villager with whom they have

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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241 426 the closest relationship. Thus, a villager might have a relationship of frequent mutual borrowing with family members, neighbors, or [612] friends. Sometimes a villager borrows a farm implement from a *ch'in* [602] *ch'i* (a matrilateral or affinal relative), and in that case no money is paid nor a feeling of obligation incurred. But usually, unless a *ch'in ch'i* lives nearby, it is not likely that a large piece of equipment can be borrowed.

241 426 571 [602] However, the decision to borrow a tool from another depends upon how good the *kan-ch'ing*[2] is between the two people. This is true even for *ch'in tsu* relatives—such as patrilateral parallel cousins—whose *kan-ch'ing* may not necessarily be very good. If the *kan-ch'ing* between two people is not good and one lends the other a tool, then the borrower will feel an obligation toward the lender and worry about it and will later send a gift of something to the lender in order to cancel the obligation. Until this is done, the borrower feels uncomfortable. [427] Therefore, rather than become involved in an uncomfortable situation, a villager often prefers to pay the NT $20 rent for a threshing machine to someone with whom his *kan-ch'ing* is not necessarily good. The payment makes it a simple commercial transaction, and there is no obligation.

241 426 427 Many villagers do not like to borrow an implement which seems to be in bad condition, since if it breaks down the borrower will be expected to repair it. Therefore, to avoid possible trouble, many villagers prefer to rent the implement so that they have no such responsibility.

241 426 571 But no matter whom the villager approaches for the loan of a tool, it is quite unusual to get an outright refusal. If the owner of the implement does not wish to lend it at all, or at least not to that particular person—perhaps because he has a reputation for not returning things promptly—he will offer some excuse. But since the villagers generally know quite well who is likely to be willing to lend them things, they limit their requests accordingly, and embarrassing situations do not often arise.

242 427 Certain implements, such as insecticide sprayers, which few farmers own, can be rented at a nominal charge from the local Farmers' Association. The government and the Farmers' Association are fostering the use of insecticides and thus make sprayers available.

241 426 404 [571] Most really expensive farm implements are owned jointly by several villagers. The families which join together to buy a threshing machine, winnower, stone rice grinder, insecticide sprayer, or water wheel do so for various reasons. Entering into a joint-purchase arrangement, however, is dependent upon the existence of good *kan-ch'ing* between them. Some households which are related, such as brothers or even patrilateral parallel cousins, may have inherited a threshing machine

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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or winnower jointly from their fathers or have recently purchased the item together. There are neighboring households which, for the sake of convenience, purchase some implement which none of the participants could or would have purchased independently. Finally, there are men in the village who are friends and join together to buy an expensive implement like an insecticide sprayer which they can all take turns using. Villagers who are friends usually influence one another. For example, several good friends in the village all grow the same vegetables for market sale. Village men who are good friends and share economic interests have many economic and social ties between them.

ANIMAL HUSBANDRY

Most of the village families raise some livestock. They may include pigs, fowl, some rabbits and goats, and a few water buffalo for work purposes. (See Table 12.) Livestock is generally not considered

TABLE 12

SURVEY OF NUMBER OF LIVESTOCK OWNED BY 87 HSIN HSING VILLAGE FARM FAMILIES, AUGUST, 1958

Livestock	Number
Water buffalo	17
Pigs	241
Chickens	361
Ducks	372
Geese	131
Rabbits	52
Goats	11

an important source of household cash income. Even the many pigs raised in the village (241 in August, 1958) are not considered a source of real income, since the villagers feel that raising pigs is more "like putting money in the bank." The reasoning behind this commonly made statement is that the price the butcher pays just about covers the money and time it costs to raise the pigs. Thus, when a farmer raises pigs he knows that as soon as the animals are sold he will have a sum of money at his disposal; it is, therefore, a sort of enforced saving. Usually the money has long since been earmarked for some special project—to build an extension to the family's house, to pay the expenses of an engagement or marriage, or to pay off a loan. However, if there is an impending marriage in the family, it is usual to slaughter one or more pigs for use in the marriage feast. Thus, when a village woman was asked when her twenty-two-year-old son would be married,

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

around the house, or just relaxing. A man with few sons and very little land will have to continue to work the land well into his old age.

Although the reasons for family division are varied, there are standard procedures for implementing the process. The actual division is carried out through the customary process of mediation by a person called in to help work out an amicable settlement. This man may be a *tsu* relative, a respected fellow villager, or a maternal relative. Family division entails the equal division among all sons of all property belonging to the large family. All the land must be evaluated according to its productive capacity and location. Where the amount of land cultivated is very small, the members of the family may in rare instances agree to draw lots. The winner of the drawing gets all the land and pays his brothers for their share; they may then go to the city to support their families.

In the division of the house, each new *chia* retains its own apartment or rooms. The family's large brick stove usually goes to the oldest son, while the others use small charcoal stoves until they can build their own brick stoves. Sometimes, until they are well settled under the new family arrangements, the *chia* of the younger brothers may continue to use the original family kitchen and stove.

Although the division often results from or causes bad feelings between the newly formed *chia*, there is a great deal of interaction among the members of the family even after the family property has been divided. Such related families frequently share in the use of certain tools and farm implements, either through mutual lending or joint ownership. Since they are both relatives and neighbors, such families may also continue mutual aid and cooperation with one another in everyday tasks.

THE "ANCESTRAL GROUP"

Perhaps one of the most important unifying factors which joins divided families, as well as *tsu* organizations, is their joint religious activities. Although economic reasons may have divided the larger family, certain religious ceremonies continue to be a joint function. Ancestor worship and participation in funeral rituals for patrilineal relatives are two of the most important religious activities for the family. The one part of the house excepted from the division is the central room known as the *kung t'ing*, which contains the family's ancestral tablets, altar, and sometimes statues of gods which are owned jointly by the families. The room and its contents continue to be the common property of all the members of the separated families.

The conjugal families which now form independent *chia* (economic families) in their turn begin the process of expansion into joint or

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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be the equivalent of an emperor, ministers, marshalls, and generals. In this hierarchy T'ien Kung is the emperor. Right under T'ien Kung are the three brother gods, San Chieh Kung: (1) T'ien Kuan, the god of heaven; (2) Ti Kuan, the god of earth; and (3) Shui Kuan, the god of water." In addition, the gods which reign in the underworld are regarded as high and powerful gods.

After these there is a whole lesser series which inhabit local areas such as villages. Some of these lesser gods have specific functions in which can be seen the mixture of magic in religion, for example, providing aid to the villagers when they are faced with illness in the family or fire in a house. Others help when general misfortune befalls the village or an individual family. (These will be discussed in detail below.) The lesser gods also function as intermediaries or "ambassadors" between ordinary people and the higher gods, since mere mortals cannot take their prayers or wishes directly to the highest gods but must transmit their prayers through these lesser gods, just as they must employ certain priests or shamans in order to communicate with the lesser gods; this was seen in the premarriage ritual described in Chapter 7, when a *t'iao t'ung* performed in this way.

The parallel between the system of gods and that of imperial China is heightened by the attribution to the gods of their own armies of soldiers and horses. Each god's importance and power, of course, determines the size of the army he possesses. Since the soldiers and horses protect the gods and carry out their work, sacrifices offered to a god must include food for his soldiers and hay and water for the horses.

> The villagers [noted one informant] believe that the gods within the hierarchy, much like ancestors, do not punish people when they do not worship. Instead the gods' action is positive, since if the people do worship the gods, they will protect the people and help make their lives run smoothly. If they do not worship, the gods will neither bother them nor help them. This is equivalent to giving them trouble since the people believe that without the gods they will have trouble in life and nothing will run smoothly. The gods are not considered possible sources of doing bad since they are holy men (*sheng jen*) and therefore won't hurt the people. People do not think of the forces of nature as good or bad. They only know from experience that life is hard and that they need the gods to help make things run a little more smoothly. Therefore, worshipping the gods is traditional, and so long as life is difficult, people will grow up generation after generation worshipping the gods in the same way.

For these reasons, the villagers worship the gods not only when they desire aid but also on the gods' birthdays and other special occasions.

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Statues of the gods are usually carved by master craftsmen in Lukang, a well-known center for such work in Taiwan. They may be owned by individual families, by a *tsu*, or jointly by the entire village

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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population. Hsin Hsing village owns the statues of two gods: one of the main village god, Ta Shih Kung, who is said to have accompanied the original founders of the village from the mainland, and one of the Earth God T'u Ti Kung. These statues were purchased with "public money" collected for religious purposes.

Some individual families have statues of personal or private gods whom they worship. There are two families in Hsin Hsing which have private gods: one of these gods, Er Shih Kung, has become very important in the village. He is considered powerful, his aid is frequently sought, and many of the villagers worship him on his birthday. The other private god is worshipped by only the one family. Their origins are unknown; according to the owners, the gods came from the mainland with their ancestors.

Origins of such private or personal gods are varied. Sometimes the origin is a vision. This is the case with one man in the area. For years he had been plagued by bad luck. He had no children and could not make an adequate living. One stormy night, walking through a wooded area, he was frightened by a flash of lightning, which showed him the form of a man in ancient costume high up in a tree. Fearing for his life, he claims that he immediately vowed to build a statue in the image of the vision and worship it as a god. In the twenty years since that day his fortunes have changed, and today he is a wealthy man with many children.

The great importance one of the private gods in Hsin Hsing has taken on has enhanced the prestige and prominence of the K'ang family which owns his statue. The majority of the villagers worship Er Shih Kung each year and frequently go to him for aid in time of illness or other emergency. Each time this is done, the contribution of the K'ang family to the village welfare is recognized. The family receives certain material benefits from the villagers, and families which feel they have benefited from Er Shih Kung's help feel a sense of obligation to the K'ang family. As a result, they feel obliged to help whenever the K'ang family needs some kind of favor. Each of the many village families which join in the *pai-pai* held by the K'ang family for Er Shih Kung on his birthday contributes several large, sweet, steamed cakes as sacrifices. These are kept by the K'ang family as custodians of this useful deity.

However, some village families feel a degree of antagonism towards the K'ang family; they feel that the K'angs are abusing their position. The most bitter antagonism is that of the Huangs, the family which owns the other personal god, which the village does not recognize. The Huang family is bitter about the situation and is joined in its antipathy by some others who appear to have been stirred up by its many criticisms of the K'angs. However, despite the bitterness, the two

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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families do not express their antagonism openly, for this would be a serious breach of etiquette. Interestingly enough, neither of the two families which personally possess these private gods is a member of any *tsu* organization in the village. It appears that the possession of these gods by the two families is a means that each family has used to establish a place for itself in the village. The family in possession of Er Shih Kung, the god which has become popular in the village seems to have actually achieved this goal.

Other Supernatural Beings, Forces, and Beliefs

In addition to gods and ancestors the villagers believe in evil supernatural beings. They are known as demons or *kuei*, but, out of fear of their malevolence and respect for their power, the villagers more often speak of them as gods or *shen*. The already mentioned Good Brothers belong to this group of *kuei*. "When one hits such a bad thing," one's spirit becomes possessed or is taken away by the supernatural being, and sickness, ill-fortune, or even death may result. It then becomes necessary to secure the services of a shaman or diviner to determine the cause of the trouble and appease the spirit.

Fate and Divination

Beyond and stronger than the influence of gods and spirits is an all-pervasive force, fate. It affects and predetermines the over-all direction of life and events. The fate of an individual is determined by his eight birth characters and "the set of forces of Yin-Yang and the Five Elements, which were connected with the movement of the stars in directing the mystical operation of time, which, in turn, determined the nature of personal events" (Yang, 1961:155). The Hsin Hsing villagers' belief in the concept of fate was well described by Kulp (1925:171) for Phenix Village when he wrote,

> Fate decides all things. Fate determined the time of birth and it will determine the hour of death, the manner of death and the experiences between birth and death. It is useless to strive against fate. All one can do is to learn the will of fate and conform in the best possible way. One may try to outwit fate but sooner or later one is doomed to defeat. Such are the attitudes that people hold regarding the great events and experiences of life.

This belief leads to various forms of divination that are designed to determine what the individual has in store for him and what, if anything, can be done about it. Thus, if resort to ancestors, gods, magic, or medicines fails to produce results, the difficulty is accepted as predetermined by fate. The concept is especially valuable in preventing a weakening of the general belief structure, for if all attempts at manipulation through supernatural influence should fail, the concept of fate

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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very poor but devout pot master for the Earth God realized that the villagers did not intend to contribute to the care of the god's statue. As a pious act he used his own money for this purpose. He was apparently motivated in part by his need for security within the village community. His family is poor and unrelated to any of the other large or small patrilineal kin groups in the village. He appears to have counted on this act to assure his family of assistance at any time of need in the future. And, in fact, his gesture was much appreciated by the village as a whole. It greatly improved his reputation and strengthened his family's relations within the village.

In addition to the village-owned statues which are cared for by the pot masters, there are also several statues of public gods which are owned by individual families and kept in their own family *kung t'ing*. Some families are more devout than others and may spend a great deal of money, sometimes as much as NT $300 to 400 (US $8–11), to purchase a statue of a god. These families generally own a statue of the Earth God and may sometimes purchase the statues of minor local gods to which they have taken a special fancy.

PRIESTS AND SHAMANS

The villagers depend upon specialists to communicate and deal with the gods and other supernatural spirits in their behalf. These specialists are either the Taoist priests known as *tao shih* or the shamans known as *fa shih* and *t'iao t'ung*. Since the powers of these men are not the same, the manner and degree to which they are able to function as intermediaries between the ordinary people and the supernatural varies widely.

The *tao shih*, as a member of a religious priesthood, functions purely as a religious practitioner. He is able to conduct rituals and ceremonies, but has no supernatural powers. The *fa shih* and the *t'iao t'ung*, on the other hand, have definite personal supernatural powers which enable them to cope with evil forces. Of the two, the villagers consider the *fa shih* the more powerful, because he himself has powers which enable him to confront the demons and exorcise them. The *t'iao t'ung* has no power himself but "only borrows his power from the gods"; it is only while he is possessed by a god that he has any supernatural powers.

There are no *tao shih* living in Hsin Hsing. Those who conduct services in Hsin Hsing are usually residents of Lukang. Almost all of them are ordinary family men who do not earn their livelihood by farming but have shops of some kind in the city. They are, so to speak, "their own boss"; their businesses can either be closed temporarily or some employee or member of the family can be left in charge for one,

4:Barnett E-4.5 (1965-1967) 1970 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Sanlei Ts'un

3 The basis of the relationship between the tea farmer and tea processor is much more than an economic one and is considered more fully in Chapter VI.

4 Rice is the general term for all food in the same sense that bread is use in the Western world as illustrated by the phrase, "Give us this day our daily bread."

5 The hu (household) is more adequately defined in Chapter V where it is contrasted with the chia (family).

6 Patrilocal and matrilocal are employed with traditional meanings. The local variations are considered more fully in Chapter V.

Chapter IV: Formal Social Organization and Social Control

1 In the recent election of December 20, 1969, several additional seats in the National Assembly and the Legislative Yuan were assigned to Taiwan.

2 Subsequent to the study, Taipei was detached from the province and made a "Special Municipality" which is virtually equal to provincial status.

3 For more details on the pao chia system, see Note 6 to Chapter II.

[356] 4 Most people who have enjoyed any reasonable level of financial success have invested in land. A minimal level of financial success appears to be a criteria for a leadership position. Since one goal of a man is to earn a living, by definition, a poor man must be considered ineffective and how could an ineffective man be a village leader?

5 For an extended discussion of Kan Ch'ing and its effects on Chinese social structure see Fried (1953: 102-3).

[212] [422] 6 A "chop" is a block on which the owner's name (in characters) is carved and which is dipped into an ink pad and used to stamp signatures on documents. It is considered to be more binding than a hand written signature and is the usual form which appears on checks and legal documents.

[781] 7 The means of interpreting the shen pei which are used to question the gods are discussed more fully in Chapter VII.

Chapter V: Kinship

1 Although considered briefly in Chapter VII, for further elaboration, see Hsu (1949), C. K. Yang (1967) or L. Thompson (1964:34-53).

2 Where possible, this will be a kinship term such as son, brother's wife, etc., but if there is no kinship relationship, the listing will be "live together."

3 Although Lang uses the term "joint family," it appears that her explanations are more in accord with the